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585 In the particular ceremony witnessed on the occasion
535 referred to, at about four o'clock in the morning, four couples danced the "San Juan." The men and the women formed two lines, at the head of which respectively were the groom and the bride; next came the godfather of the groom and the godmother of the bride, while the other couples were those who chanced to be selected for the dance. The music for this is very
585 different from that for the ordinary dance. The ma-
533 rimba was not used at all, and the players of the drums
534 and rattles did not station themselves at the end of the hall near the marimba, but each took his instrument and marched in time to the music up and down and across the hall (pl. CXXVIII). As the musicians and others
585 thus proceeded about the hall, each man exchanged
535 instruments, or hats or other articles of apparel, with
[431] whomsoever he met, the latter having no option in this exchange, his duty and privilege being to grasp the instrument or article of apparel from the man whom he next met. Notwithstanding this riot of fun and jollity among the musicians, they played in unison, and the dancers were able to keep their time and step perfectly.

The dance itself proceeded as follows: The two lines, one of men and one of women, danced up to each other and passed to the opposite side of the hall in such manner that each man passed between two women, and vice versa. Having arrived at the wall, they faced about, passed back again, and crossed until this had been done three times and the two lines were left facing each other and in their original positions, one near each side of the room. Next each one of the eight

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dried whole; and guantas, deer, jaguars, pumas, armadillos, sloths, and wild hogs, all in dismembered parts. Among the birds were parrots, toucans, doves, grouse, wild turkeys, herons, and egrets, all dried whole. Dried fish of various species, especially the shad, were present. In vegetal foods also there was great variety, as the plantain, yuca, papaya, rascadera, sugar-cane, coconut, guabo, zapote, bread-fruit, orange, chonta dura, and palma real. Care was taken in arranging the table to see that there should be as much display as possible. The dried mammals and birds were in many cases placed in erect poses, and fruits or pieces of other foods were placed in the beaks of the birds and in the mouths or between the paws of the mammals. In one or two instances mammals were so posed as to appear as if fighting.

Directly after the service in the church, to which a small portion of the food was taken in order that by its presence during the service it might receive the blessing for all the food used in the feast, all the people of the village congregated at this particular house. The men and larger boys occupied the room in which the table was spread, and the women, girls, and small boys the room adjoining. The givers of the feast then presented to whomsoever they thought proper various articles from the table, such as a dried mammal, bird, or fish, and some fruit. These were for the recipients personally, and were to be taken home by them. On receiving such a gift, a man always took it personally or sent it to some of the women of his family in the adjoining room. This division of the food took a considerable part of what was

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upon the table; the rest was divided into small bits, and, after an invocation by the warden of the church, the men and boys, all seated on low benches about the table, proceeded to feast. The women meanwhile partook of a portion of the food that had been sent to the next room to them. Having finished the meal, a benediction was pronounced by the warden and the floor was cleared of all scraps of food and the leaves forming the table.

Immediately fresh leaves were spread as at first, and the boda, the word being here used in its more restricted sense, was served. While an ofrenda has a very elaborate assortment of foods, a boda has only fish, oysters, or meats cooked in ripe plantain in the form of a thick gruel. This is served always in the aboriginal pottery plates of the kind shown in pl. LXXXVII, 6, although for everyday use dishes of European manufacture have almost entirely supplanted the pottery plates formerly used. In this particular case the boda consisted of a single course of plantain and fish, but sometimes other courses are served in order. The feast having been finished, the majority of the people went to their respective abodes in the village or to the house of the chief.

At such gatherings offenders against the law are usually brought before the chief, by whom justice is dispensed and differences between individuals adjudicated. On this particular occasion several matters of this nature demanded the chief's attention. The details of these will show something of the methods of dispensing justice among the Cayapa.

Immediately after the boda on this first day the chief sent some officers to bring before him certain offenders

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At the present time the Cayapa, in common with most rural Ecuadorians, practice a ceremony of nail cutting that has ritual significance in the sense that god-parents are selected for the child, and the extension of ritual kinship follows as for the rites of baptism and marriage. This ceremonial occasion which is called simply /tyákikánu/, is a very minor ceremony that may be performed at almost any age from a few months to perhaps six years, or it may never be performed. Almost invariably the god-parents for this occasion are Negro. As Negroes are in political and economic control of the region, we can say that this is a vertical extension of ritual kinship. The Indian seldom asks a Negro to assume this obligation. Quite the contrary, Negroes generally ask the father of the child if he would like to enter into compadrazgo.

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The actual ceremony is very simple. Only the participants are present as a rule. The nails are cut by the god-father, and the parings are placed in a glass of rum which is then drunk by the compadres. Small presents, such as a bottle of rum, some food, soft drinks, and tobacco, are exchanged. Thereafter, the

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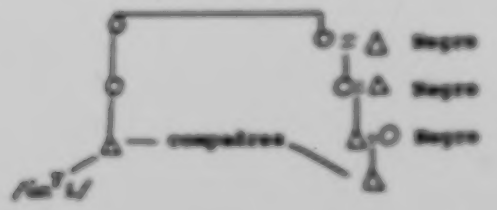
existing kinship ties by means of the nail-cutting ceremony with a Cayapa child. As an example, one Negro who is distantly related to the *ʔiwʔɨ/ of the Punta Venado section asked if he could be his compadre. The manner of relationship is as follows:



The /iwʔɨ/ says that he does not know the name of this Negro kinsman and compadre who lives by the ocean near Punta Bajo on the other side of Limones at the mouth of the Río Cayapas. He came up one day in his canoe, bringing fish, green coconuts, clams, and other small gifts. He asked if he could cut the nails of one of the children, and the /iwʔɨ/ agreed, and the Negro cut the nails of the daughter, María Agrocaria. The /iwʔɨ/ gave his new compadre gifts of sugar cane, plantain, and chontaduro. Since then, the /iwʔɨ/ had visited his compadre about ten times in a four- or five-year period, and in return

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distantly by marriage and who, for one or another reason, seek to intensify a weak relationship. The important relationship is between the compadres and not between the spouses and the child. 608 852

Baptism. Every infant must be baptized as soon as possible by the priest. The god-parents chosen for this occasion are always Indian. Although some say that it is best to choose them from within the family, others claim that it is best to choose non-relatives. There are no strong feelings one way or another; however, most of my material indicates a bias in favor of having relatives as compadres of the baptism. A statistical treatment is not possible as my data center primarily on the Río Cayapas region and not on the Punta Venado group as a whole. 608 851 [101]

For the baptism the parents, the god-parents, and the infant go to Limones. The ceremony which is done in the Catholic manner by the priest costs two sucres which is paid by the father of the child. The priest is usually presented with a gift, such as a hen or a basket, made by the Cayapa. At this time no presents are exchanged between the compadres, although [197] [491]

the father may buy a meal and some drinks for everyone. The compadres now address each other by the same terms used between compadres in the hair-cutting ceremony. When the child grows up, he calls his god-father by the term /patinotáyu/ and the god-mother by the term, /patinotáwu/, and the reciprocal is /tháthu/ &whose, from Spanish padrino 'god-father,' &ma "mother" &pa "father"&. Incest taboos, if not present before, are now extended, and the /tháthu/ may not marry any of the children of the god-parents. The relationship is marked by respect from all within it. From time to time as conditions seem to warrant it, the parties to the compadrazgo of the baptism gift each other with meat. Within a family each child will usually have a different set of god-parents from his siblings. This is a reinforcement of previously existing ties with a multiplicity of horizontally-extended ritual kin.

Setting. The Cayapa say that when one goes to heaven all of the souls there look alike. Everyone is the same height, and they all wear identical clothing. It is impossible to recognize the people

At the Negro village of Concepcion, Indians wander about and visit casually the homes of many of the Negroes whom they know. Among themselves there are no casual visits to friends--there are really no friends, with the possible exception of some of the pupils at the Socorro Indian school. The language has no word for "friend" beyond the Spanish loan-word. There is family and not-family and, one does not visit family casually either. There must be a purpose beyond a desire just to visit. Dyadic relations are easily set up with the Negroes and are quasi-friendships that are quite clearly instrumental on both sides. I have no count but my decided impression is that penetration interweaves markedly between Indian and Negro. Negroes very often ask to become a god-parent for a minor ceremonial occasion when the child's nails are cut for the first time. The nail parings are placed in a cup of rum and drunk by the father and the Negro god-father. Small gifts are exchanged of little monetary value, and food is consumed along with the alcohol. Thenceforth at very irregular intervals, small presents will be exchanged. Gifting, while not especially generous on any level, showed an apparent increase with

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the writer. Similarly, attempts were made to establish intense interpersonal relations with the writer which were very brittle in nature. It would appear that the Cayapa were living in three different worlds and behaving quite differently in each one. The thread that runs through all of the behavior we have discussed from law, government, politics, sex, drinking and affiliative behavior, is high socialization anxiety leading to a very marked generalized fear of others. Whiting's and Child's statement comprehends the behavioral differences observed between Cayapa:Cayapa, Cayapa:Negro, and Cayapa:White.

> . . . anxiety acquired in childhood might be generalized to other people . . . because of their similarity to the persons responsible for the frustration and punishment of the child--their similarity, above all, to the child's parents (Whiting and Child 1962:267).

Clearly, those people having greatest similarity to a Cayapa's parents are other Cayapa--much more so than Negroes and Whites.

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The neurotic conflicts that are engendered by the widespread inability to relate affiliatively among themselves is effectively resolved by avoidance or